1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

plumes strung over the dance ground at the rainmaking ceremony. The husband of one informant could "spit on a stick, twist it, and wring out water."(26) Such a man was known as *siiwanyi*, which means rain magician, rather than mere medicine man. It is the term applied to the rulers of the greathouses and also to the leader of the salt pilgrimage, who brings rain from the ocean.

War shamans were meeters of the owl in whose body the souls of the dead could become incarnated. Such a shaman accompanied a war party and spoke with the spirits of Papago warriors dead in the enemy country, who acted as spies on the Apache movements. Less often, he communicated with the peaceful dead at home. Miss Densmore [2] quotes some songs by an "owl woman" who held such communication in recent times. Other shamans acquired special powers for bringing luck in games and casting spells on the opponents. Before a kickball race, two who were so gifted rolled the ball back and forth between them, singing to insure power to their side. When the shirts, baskets, and hides wagered by the rival villages were piled up, each hoard was guarded by a shaman. During the wait before the race, these champions sometimes gave proof of their powers by swallowing swordlike sticks, eating fire, walking on hot embers, and causing objects to disappear. No harm came to the shaman who was worsted in the contest, but the poverty of his powers, thus revealed, took the strength from his village and made it almost certain to lose in the contest.

Shamans owned love magic. A "mushroom," which corresponds to the Huichol description of peyote, was a strong love charm. A man stalked it like a deer, and shot it with an arrow before it had time to disappear into the ground. He must then give it to a shaman for magic treatment before he could carry it as a love charm. One informant reported of a shaman: "He had four wives. By the time he took the fourth, he was a very old man, but as a shaman he could 'do something' to make her love him." Four, it may be mentioned, was the traditional number of the shaman's wives, while the average man rarely got beyond two. The standard taunt to one who could afford more was: "Well, have you become a shaman?"

[2] Densmore, pp. 114–34.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

602 Any sibling of the grandparents was treated much like a grandparent, provided he lived in the home group. Many houses have several dependent old people of this sort addressed briefly as grandparent, without the suffix old man or old woman which indicates a grandparental sibling. In such a case, it is almost impossible to tell by behavior which is the grandparent and which a collateral.

The grandparents in the mother's line normally lived in another village and could be seen only on visits. But these visits might last a long time (I. 1) and also there were many reasons why a mother might return to her own parents. Then these would take the same position as teacher and nurse which was normally occupied by the father's parents (I. 3. C. 5).

Great Grand Parent and Great Great Grandparend Class

603 The more ancient relatives existed only as dependents, cared for in any family which could find room for them. Their unimportance is expressed by the fact that, in their titles, no distinction is made as to sex or line and the remotest, the great great grandparents, are called by the children "younger siblings" in allusion, one informant thought, to their second childhood.

Spouse Class

562 462 Though the man was the head of the family and residence was at his village, there was much emphasis, in daily life, on the equality of the spouses. Each was supreme in a special field of activity and, in many phases of ceremonial life, one could not participate without the other. At home labor, the patriarch directed the men and his wife the women. He disposed of gifts of meat and cultivated crops; she of cooked food and wild crops and the relatives of both shared equally in the distribution, subject to the factor of propinquity.

595 Co-wives were not frequent except with older men who had acquired the goods to support them. They were usually sisters and, in that case, there was no formal precedence of the older. They arranged their work and distributed gifts in committee and the husband accepted their joint decision. Wives who were not related were expected to fit into the sister pattern although the colloquial term "she of whom I am jealous" shows that they did not always do it. But there was no hard and fast rule for precedence of the senior wife. The women of the household were left democratically, to settle their troubles between them.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

MARRIAGE AND SEX BEHAVIOR

Polygynous marriage was approved but not practised by every one. Old men, particularly the shaman and the Keeper of the Meeting, often had four wives but most had two. Very young men had only one.

The sororate was in full force. If a man had married one daughter in a family, it was expected as a matter of course, that he would take all the others as they matured, even while the first wife was living. The junior levirate is a vague tradition. It was "a good thing" if a man's younger brother married his widow but it was not required. Some informants had not even heard of the tradition.

Marriage was arranged by the bride's parents. They saw that their daughter's breasts were large and they said, "They should be used for something." This might be immediately after puberty. It was felt that marriage should synchronize with the awakening of sex interest and some informants even quote twelve as a marriageable age for a girl. (1) The husband, if this were his first marriage, might be sixteen or seventeen. He and his young bride were by no means considered adults but lived with the groom's parents in a state of tutelage until they had several children.

The choosing of a mate for the first daughter in the family was subject to certain rules. There were no clan or moiety restrictions, but the youth should not be a relative, that is, a lineal descendant of any one of the bride's great grandparents. Also he should be from another village. This latter was a social rule but not enforced by supernatural punishments as was exogamy among relatives. If the girl's father had been wounded by an Apache, she should marry the son of a man so wounded, since it produced a form of family taint that must not be spread.

Having decided on a mate, the girl's parents consulted the adult relatives of the father's lineage and of the mother's. All gave their opinion as to whether the youth was industrious and a good runner and if they decided that he was eligible, the girl's parents called on his parents with the proposal: "We have an industrious daughter. We offer her to your son."

The boy's parents, if they objected to the girl, would take care not to be at home for to refuse would be an insult. But if the boy were already affianced, it was proper to say: "He has already been given a girl." Otherwise they replied: "We think as you do." A

595 ● [756 624] 595 587 582 584 [591] 584 [p. 179]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

885 sometimes turned into a lascivious occasion. She and her husband,
[513] as a sign of intimacy, ate out of the same dish and deloused one another's hair.

585 The system of having the groom spend four nights at the bride's
587 house was only for first marriages and if either party had been married before, it was omitted. When the groom was already the husband of the bride's older sister, there were no formalities. The bride's parents simply announced that their daughter was old enough, received his acquiescence and brought her to him. But parents often decided to offer a daughter to a man who had a wife not her sister or who was widowed or divorced. In that case they delayed to consult their relatives and instruct the girl but then took her to him without the preliminary four nights. If the man were still very young, the negotiations might be made with his family, otherwise with the man himself. Adult women also sometimes made their own arrangements but as a rule a widow or a divorced woman who returned to her family was disposed of by them like a young girl.

"We gave my son a wife when he was seventeen. Some people came to us and said, 'We have a daughter. She was married to a man but that man went away to the White school and when he came back, he did not take her. She is older than your son but she is industrious. She may be some help to him.' We said, 'It is true that she is older but we have seen her work. She may be a help.' So we told our son and he said nothing." (26)

A divorced woman thus recounted her experience after she had come back to her mother's house.

"A few days' later my uncle found out. He said, 'We cannot have this woman here with no one to care for her. We must find a husband.' So he went to an old man and proposed for me. I didn't
[562] say anything. No woman has a right to speak against the men of her family." (26)

MARITAL RELATIONS

595 All a man's wives lived in the same house. If they were sisters, it was said they always got along together; otherwise there might be quarrelling and he might build a separate house for one of them. The local tales abound in situations where a man had to divide his attention between two wives.

837 The pattern of female seclusion and modesty was entirely altered
781 after marriage. Women might now go to the drinking ceremonies and to the girl's puberty dance which was the outstanding occasion for sex liberties. For couples to disappear into the darkness at these times was an accepted part of the performance. Women joked

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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In love, she again showed independence. For a shaman to have more than one wife was standard custom but Chona resented her co-wife. She felt "unnaturally" and against all precedent the same emotions that a White woman is expected to feel "naturally" in such a circumstance. The result was a minor rebellion, soon settled. Chona's life, on the whole, presents a fair picture of the crises which come to a Papago woman, heightened by a dynamic personality.

I

We lived at Mesquite Root and my father was chief there. That was a good place, high up among the hills, but flat, with a little wash where you could plant corn. Prickly pear grew there so thick that in summer, when you picked the fruit, it was only four steps from one bush to the next. And cholla cactus grew and there were ironwood trees. Good nuts they have! There were birds flying around, doves and woodpeckers, and a big rabbit sometimes in the early morning, and quails running across the flat land. Right above us was Quijotoa Mountain, the one where the cloud stands up high and white when we sing for rain.

We lived in a grass house and our relatives, all around us on the smooth flat land, had houses that were the same. Round our houses were, with no smoke hole and just a little door where you crawled in on hands and knees. That was good. The smoke could go out anywhere through the thatch and the air could come in. All our family slept on cactus fibre mats against the wall, pushed tight against it so centipedes and scorpions could not crawl in. There was a mat for each two children, but no, nothing over us. When we were cold, we put wood on the fire.

Early in the morning, in the month of Pleasant Cold, when we had all slept in the house to keep warm, we would wake in the dark to hear my father speaking.

"Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake up and listen. Open your ears. Let my words enter them." He spoke in a low voice, so quiet in the dark. Always our fathers spoke to us like that, so low that you thought you were dreaming.

"Wake up and listen. You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men and they will fight the enemy. You should practise running. So, in time of war, you may save your lives."

For a long time my father talked to us like that, for he began when it was black dark. I went to sleep, and then he pinched my ear. "Wake up! Do not be idle!"

Then we got up. It was the time we call morning-stands-up, when it is

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

whole head and closes that soft spot which really comes because the head has fallen in. 159 X 826

My husband knew this and I have heard him tell mothers about it. But the mothers could not do the pushing. It must be a person with power.

I do not think it was crystals, for I was too old to have them grow within me any longer. Yet once, when I was at cactus camp, I was sick. 159 X 789 We did not have a medicine man; my husband and his brothers were far away. I lay there, and my head spun round, and I was hot and cold. Then, out of the desert, a furry, gray coyote came trotting to me. He blew on me as the medicine man blows and I felt cool. I began to sing: [533]

Coyote, my comrade
Hither ran.
To the end of his tail
A cloud was tied.

I felt that cool beautiful cloud, and I saw how funny Coyote looked, waving it over me and running away. I got well.

Then one day, when my daughter was twelve years old, my husband took another wife.

IX

One day I went with my little girl to buy meat at a neighbor's house where they had just butchered. I came back and, under our arbor, there sat a girl. The relative that lived next door to us called over and said: "My elder sister, your husband's married." 159 X 595 ●

Most men did not take two wives with us then, but the medicine men always did. In fact, they took four. But I had never thought my husband would do it. You see, we married so young, even before I had really become a maiden. It was as if we had been children in the same house. I had grown fond of him. We starved so much together. [756]

The other woman spoke to me. "I see you're his wife. You had better take care of him. It's not my fault." I knew that. I knew they brought her over to our house just the way my mother brought me. Perhaps she did not know he had a wife till I came back from buying meat. I said: "I know it isn't your fault. But I am going home."

I piled my clothes in a basket, and I put in a large butcher knife. I thought if he followed, I would kill him. Then I took my little girl and went away. It was late evening. I went to the house of a relative and asked to stay the night, and early before morning stands up, I got up to walk to Mesquite Root, across the valley. Before I started, my husband came. He

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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stood there and looked at us and he said to my little girl: "What will you do, go with your mother?" "Yes." He said: "Go on. I'll come to see you sometimes." He thought it was a joke.

In the afternoon I got to Mesquite Root and told my brother. He said: "All right."

Next day we were all in the field, eating watermelons, and there my husband came. My brother said: "What do you want?" "I just came after these people." My brother was angry. My husband said: "Her father came and proposed to me for her. It seemed a good thing." He meant that woman. But my brother sent him away and so he went. I did not say anything. I thought my husband would send away that woman and come back.

A few days later my uncle found out. He said: "We cannot have this woman here with no one to care for her. We must find a husband. We must show that other man that he cannot get her back." So he went to an old man and proposed for me. That old man was the one who had danced me when I became a maiden. He had had a wife then, but now she was dead and he was living alone. He was a rich man; he had horses.

He was a distant relative our ours, one whom I called my elder brother. My father would not have allowed me to be offered to him, for we do not marry relatives. When my brother spoke to him, he said: "Very well, my younger brother. I will be there in two days."

My brother and my uncle came and told my mother and me. I cried. My mother said: "Wait. Her husband will be sorry and come for her. They have been together since they were young." But my brother would not. "Mother, you'll see. This man may be old, but he has something. He may take care of her and of you, too. That's one of my reasons." You see, my family was poor then.

I did not say anything. No woman has a right to speak against her brother, even if he is younger, as this one was. And my mother had no right either, against the men. My brother said to me: "Look here, he has something. He may be a help to you and to me." I knew that my family was poor. I said: "I'll see. If this man is good to me, I'll stay. If not, I'll give it up."

In two days the old man came, in the evening, on a horse. My brother spoke to him as if he was that old man's father: "If you don't take care of her, I'll take her back." The old man said: "All right." Then he told me: "I'll try to take good care of you, feed you and give you all you don't have. Now you go to sleep. Early in the morning I'll come and get you." He came and took me behind him on a horse and we went down the valley to Where the Rock Stands Up. My little girl stayed with my mother.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

die from it, having acquired it through contagion. Although in no way a prison as to its restrictions, nevertheless the school as at present conducted does them harm physically. The confinement to which they have not been accustomed seems to undermine their health. In these days of advanced methods of teaching some remedy for this condition no doubt will be found. One absolutely necessary change is to alter the construction of the school-houses so as to make them sanitary through unlimited access of air. Even the Presbyterian Mission, which has been of considerable benefit to the Indian, has erected outside of Tucson incredibly inappropriate buildings, made of brick and substantial, to be sure, but singularly out of place in the glare and heat of the Arizona desert. Prof. R. H. Forbes, of Arizona University, told me that in the White Mountain Apache school, at White River, ninety per cent of the children have tuberculosis, chiefly glandular. This statement was made to him by the physician in charge. Would it not be better to leave the Indians uneducated than to proceed in this manner?

Not long ago the makai (medicine-men) had as many as five wives each, while the usual number for the ordinary man was two. At present it is very rare to find a Papago with more than one wife, and the average number of children in a family is usually no less than eight, but the mortality among infants is great. The position of woman is equality with man. To be sure, the man never carries burdens—that is relegated to the woman's domain—but she is the mistress of the house. She is,

241 GRAIN.—The roving Papagos, those living off the reservation, raise only grain enough, principally wheat and corn, for their own use. Squashes, melons, and sugar cane make up the list of their common crops. Cultivation with them consists in scratching the ground with their stick plows and planting the seed. They pay no attention whatever to weeds. They inclose small fields of fertile ground in the mesas with brush fences and then plant after a rain at the right season. If it rains in November, they plant wheat. Rain in December will insure a good growth of straw, but rain in February will be necessary to mature the berry. The failure of rain in any of the 3 months will prevent planting or about ruin the crop which has been started. Owing to the uncertainty of propitious rains they obtain crops, apart from irrigation, only about once in 6 years.

Their wheat is white, a short, plump berry, of remarkably good quality. In the off years they resort to the reservation, raise a little grain, and "pack" it to their villages. Corn, squashes, sugar cane, and melons are raised after the summer rains.

252 412 They grind grain on an inclined stone, called a metáte, using a smaller stone, about the size of a brick, called a mano, as the crushing power. A handful of whole grain is placed at the top of the metáte, a part of it is scattered over the surface of the stone with a dexterous flirt of the hand, and it is then powdered by two or three energetic rubs with the small stone. The whole process resembles that of washing clothes with a washboard. The flour is caught in a bowl as it falls from the metáte, is sieved and free from grit, and contains all the nutriment of the grain.

272 252 [234] Parched wheat, when ground in this manner, is mixed with water, forming a palatable drink, called penole. Corn is never ground raw, but after it has been boiled, and the meal is pressed and rolled up in soft corn husks and forms their bread for journeys. It is superior in taste, in my judgment, to any kind of corn bread made by the whites. They manufacture a kind of cheese from milk, but have no process for butter making.

231 STOCK.—The Papagos have small herds of stock and droves of horses. These constitute their substance, but such possessions can not be large in view of the uncertainty of water. Nearly every family has a few fowls. Their wants are few, and those are easily satisfied. They are self-supporting, and no charge on the government for either food or clothing.

493 An occasional farm wagon was found in a village, but in Ki-ki-wah there were 4. This village is about 90 miles from Tucson and 10 from the Mexican line.

224 [439] GAME.—Various species of deer abound, and in season the markets of the whites are supplied with venison by the Indians. Mountain sheep and goats are also brought in by them, but in less numbers than deer. Black and cinnamon bears are occasionally killed. The cotton-tail rabbit abounds, and is in demand for the table. The flesh is white, and fully equal to chicken in delicacy of flavor. Dangerous wild animals are also killed by the Indians in considerable numbers. The most formidable of these is the mountain lion. This animal destroys young stock, and is therefore hunted with zeal by the Papagos. The pelts possess a trifling value. The wildcat and civet cat are very numerous. The coyote, fox, jack rabbit, and skunk make up a group of animals which are pests, though not dangerous ones. The jack rabbit is sometimes used for food.

223 BIRDS.—Among the birds useful to Indians are the quail, dove, mocking bird, and cardinal bird. These are trapped with great success by them, the quail and dove for food, the others for household pets, their sale forming quite an income. Hawks, owls, and crows abound. Wild ducks, geese, bittern, heron, and snipe are killed in their migration back and forth between Mexico and California. It will be seen that the Indians have many food resources on wing and foot, valuable for consumption or sale.

342 333 DWELLINGS.—No tents are used among the Papagos, and about two-thirds of the houses are made of adobe, the rest being constructed of mud and brush. They consist of but one room, and have dirt roofs laid on rafters of small trees. There is no uniformity as to the size of the houses. The adobe bricks are made in an open frame of four compartments from a gray mud or clay mixed with short cut straw or hay. This mold is placed upon the ground, filled with the soft adobe, packed firmly, and then the frame or mold is removed and the brick left to dry. The usual size of a brick is 4 by 9 by 18 inches.

[356] The Papagos are cleanly in their habits. They sweep the dirt floors of their houses, and in some cases the ground around them. No vermin of any kind was found in any of their houses.

291 [177] CLOTHING.—The men wear boots or shoes, pants and shirts, and straw or felt hats. A canvas jacket is worn on cool days or on a journey. The women wear shoes, stockings, and skirt, and waist blankets are quite common with both sexes, with the women serving as shawl and head covering. The women sew nicely by hand, using thimbles. They also use sewing machines, of which there were three in Ki-ki-wah.

181 [548] [595] MORALS.—The men were generally represented to me to be truthful and honest and the women to be virtuous. Prostitution is said to be unknown among them. This may be due to the fact, as some claim, that wives are taken and abandoned at will. Occasionally a man was found with 2 wives.

Their honesty was tested in various ways on our trip. The outfit of 3 wagons was left unguarded for a whole day when we made the trip from Tucsón to Fresnal and neighboring villages, and not a thing was disturbed. Twice after we left villages forgotten articles were brought to us by men on horseback. These articles would not have been missed, and might have been kept by them with perfect impunity. The Papagos are not addicted to

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